THE Nations Intereſt:

In Relation to the

PRETENTIONS

OF HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Duke of York, &c.

DISCOURS'D AT LARGE

IN A

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND.

Quicquid uſquam Perfidiæ, & Doli; Quicquid Inclementiæ, Superbiæque, audiſti aut legiſti: Quicquid (Denique) Impietatis, & Morum peſſimorum ſparſim habet aut habuit Orbis Terræ; Totum Hic, Cumulatum videas, Acervatumque reperias. Petrarch. in Epiſt.

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THE Nations Intereſt:

In Relation to the PRETENTIONS OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE Duke of York, &c.

SIR,

§. 1. IT is not the particular Caſe of your Friend only, but of a great many (otherwiſe) Worthy and Eminent Perſons, to be mis-led, and intoxicated, by the plauſible pretence of a *Free Eſtate*, into a paſſionate Fondneſs, and Admiration of a *Popular Government*; never diſtinguiſhing betwixt the *Form* and *Eſſence* of a *Commonwealth*; the miſtake whereof (each for the other) has prov'd ſo fatal in this Age; nor calling to mind that it was the misfortune of thoſe that ſurfeited of our *Kingly Regiment*, and gap'd as impatiently after *Novelty* as any now adays can do; to loſe the ſubſtance of *Liberty* and *Happineſs*, in perſuit of the *Shadow*. Nay, and too too many (believe me Sir) there are alſo, that, ſacrificing all conſiderations of *Conſcience* and *Religion* to their *Mammon* Intereſt, do labour with all the Vigour and Artifice imaginable, to create in the *Multitude* a loathing of their preſent *Manna*, and a freſh longing for their late *Egyptian Leeks* and *Garlick*. So that you are not to look upon my Endeavours to ſet things aright, as to this Point, to

be the pure Effects of my Compliance with your *Desires* for the satisfaction of your *Friend*, but rather of a pressing and indispensable *Duty*.

Neither your *Friend*, nor any other *Republican* will, I presume, maintain that a *Free Estate* (as they call it) is not subject to any Violations; because woful Experience will confute, and force them to confess either that a *Commonwealth* may *Degenerate*; or, at least, that the so much cry'd up Model of the *Late times* was no *Commonwealth*: And they must not only renounce their *Senses*, but even the *Faith* of *Story* also, which sufficiently proves that *Republicks* have been *sometimes* invaded with *Usurpations*; *sometimes* debauch'd and embas'd with *Oligarchy*; *mostly* (by reason of their Weakness and Divisions) *subdu'd* or Compell'd to truckle under their *Neighbouring Princes*; but *always* tormented with *Faction* and *Convulsions*. Nor in truth, has that *Party* as yet been able to produce any *Arguments* but such, as in effect, beg the *Question*; by presupposing great *Unity* in the *Coalition*, great *Probity* in the *Intention*, and great *Purity* in the *Exercise*; which being admitted, we should so little need to differ about *Forms*, that perhaps we should scarce need any *Government at all*.

As for my self, Sir, I ever abhorred *Bloodshed*, and do deem *one* Party in all *Wars* guilty of *Murther*; a Crime which as it cryes *High* for *Vengeance*, so ought it to cry *Lowd* for *Unity* and *Moderation*; into which blessed Path may *This* ballance us, that we be not again *Balotted* into a *Field* of *Blood*: I plead for *Liberty*; not the *Name*, but the *Thing*; and design not to assert *Tyranny*, but *Kingship*; (as it relates to the *Laws* of the *Land*) to whose protection I am entitled by my *Birth*, for the preservation of my *Freedom* in *Person* and *Estate*; and that with more assurance, than possibly can be secur'd under the *Government* of *Many*, who scruple not commonly to term that *Justice* (and without *Remedy* too) which is *down right Faction*.

So

So that with these thoughts about me I shall readily acknowledge (you may imagine) that even *Monarchy* it self is but as *Earthen Ware*, (though of the *finest* and *strongest Sort*) and liable to sundry *Contingences*; *nothing under the Heavens being completely Perfect.* In the Constitution of *Governments*, 'tis childish to think upon erecting of *Babels* against a *Deluge*; but the *Design* must be to *embank* against *Floods*, and *enclose* the best that may be against *Trespassers*. This being premised, I shall proceed to handle the *Matter* in question, not *Metaphysically*, in *Notions* abstracted from their *Subjects* (a Pastime which our *Platonicks* much delight in) but *Morally* and *Reasonably*; and enforce such *Arguments* only as are *plain*, *sensible*, and *appropriate* to our own *Countrey*; leaving the *Notional* to our *Book-men*, whose *Volumes*, calculated for all *Climates*, swell big against the *Evils* of the *Rule* of MANY, or *Democracy*. Neither shall I presume to insist upon any such insuperable difficulties, as are of a quality too high for a private Pen to meddle with, must necessarily obviate the establishing of a *popular Platform* amongst us; but lay before you in the *First* place, the present State of the Nation, so Far forth only as may carry any immediate Relation to the *Subject*; and then draw all to an *Application.*

§ 2. THIS *Island*, now, is a large Continent, abundantly populous; and govern'd (I may say) by the Subordinate Influence of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; who live plentifully, and at ease upon their *Rents*, extracted from the Toyle of their *Tenants* and *Servants*; every one of of them Acting the *Prince* within the Bounds of his own *Estate*, where he is in a manner *Absolute.* His *Servants* and *Labourers* are as *Vassals*, his *Tenants* indeed are *Free*, but yet in the Nature of *Subjects*; whom he orders in his *Courts*, draws Supplys from by his *Fines*, and Awes by his *Power* and *Oaths* of *Fealty*, to great Submissions. The more his *Mannors* are, and the more indulgently he behaves

behaves himself (like a good *Prince*) the larger is his *Territory*, and the more awful are his *Commands*. A *Rich* and *Potent* Neighbour gives Check to an *Inferiour*; *He* again being over-ruled by one that is more considerable than himself. But yet none of these, with respect to his *Quality* and *Estate*, will admit of a *Parity* with a *meaner Neighbour*, much less with his *Tenant* or *Dependent*.

Into the Rank of *Gentry* do our *Officers*, *Citizens*, and *Burghers* aspire to be enroll'd: So that no sooner by *Arms*, *Office*, or *Trade*, do they acquire a competent *Stock*, but forthwith for *Land* it is dispos'd; and then, disowning the Title of *Soldiers*, *Citizens*, or *Burghers*, they take to themselves the Degree and Name of *Gentlemen*, with *Arms* not improper; for *England* within it self, has been so often shuffled from *High* to *Low*, that there is scarce any *Artificer* but may find his Name in the *Heralds-Book*, though not his *Pedigree*, which *Ingenuity* yet and *Good Will* may easily supply; and thus being Equipt with a *Title* and *Estate*, they set up suitably the *Dominion* within their *Territories*; which none do dispute, as having no right to intermeddle with what a man *has* or *does* within himself: For by *Gentry* I understand not such only as are so in *Blood*, but in *Quality* also; such as live easily and like *Princes*, upon the Labours of their *Dependents*.

Out of This *Order* are usually constituted our *Sheriffs*, *Justices* of the *Peace &c.* By the countenance of which Authorities they so order all *Elections* to *Parliament*, or *otherwise*, that the *Countys* Commonly follow their respective *Factions*, and the *Commonalty* in their *Votes* are manag'd by *Them*, as a Horse by his Rider. Now as the *Agrarian* or *Interest* of *Land*, is principally in these Two *Ranks*; So also is the Consequence thereof, *Power* and *Command*; which emboldens them to such a Height of *Spirit* (natural to our *Nobility* and *Gentry*) that they are too apt to undervalue Persons of Inferiour Condition, [*Burgesses* and *Mechanicks*,] with whom to *Inter-*

marry

marry, by our *Old Law* was a *Diſparagement* for a *Ward*; and this *Spirit* of *Generoſity* is not to be ſuppreſt, ſo riveted is it in their *Natures*, but by the Eradication of their *Qualities* at leaſt, if not their *Perſons*.

And indeed the eſtabliſhing of a *Free Eſtate* (ſo call'd) were otherwiſe *Deſperate* and *Impracticable*; (which the prevailing *Mecanicks* among the *Swiſſes*, ſoon found to be true) It being of the very *Eſſence* of a Common-wealth, to reduce all *Degrees* to a *Parity*. For as *Titles* and *Honours* are incident to *King-ſhip*; ſo alſo are *Equality* of *Place*, and *Birth*, to *Democracy*; unleſs where, in caſe of *Office*, for the *Time* only, they are entitled to a *Precedency*. Reduced you muſt be, Sir, to the Condition of the *Vulgar*; for though you are already ſtiled *Commoners*, yet that is only a *Fallacy* of the *Name*, and deludes our *Statiſts*; you being ſuch, no otherwiſe than *Repreſentatively*, and rather the managers of the *Peoples purſe*, than purely *Commons*. Neither yet would the bare procuring of ſuch a *Parity* be ſufficient to do your *Friend*'s Buſineſs; unleſs he could alſo get a *Supreme Power* eſtabliſh'd in ſome ſuch *Body Corporate*, Compacted and Permanent, as, by reducing of divers meet Cities, Forts, and Caſtles, under its Command as the Head Colony, might give Law to the ſeveral Countries, and mould them into a Vaſſalage competent to make up a free Eſtate: But this you know is as well impious, as upon ten thouſand accounts impoſſible to be effected. Nay, and though this point were alſo obtainable, yet would not our *Nobility* and *Gentry* have either the *Honour* of the *Name*, or *Benefit* of the *Thing*; nor would it be inſtiled the *Common-wealth* of *England*, but of that particular place that ſhould ſo uſurp upon the reſt of the *Nation*; and then too our pay muſt be as *they* impoſe, our *Liberty* as they vouchſafe it, and we ſubject to our Inferiors.

Nor is this Diſcourſe to be lookt upon as meer *Drollery*; for from This *Embrio* have iſſued thoſe *Common-wealths* which are ſo fam'd in *Notion*; as *Rome*, *Carthage*,

Athens, *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, *Thebes*, &c. Great *Cities* of that Name, which, having ſubdu'd the adjacent *Territories*, denominated the *Dominion*; wherein only thoſe of the *Freedom* (*Citizens* and *Denizens*) had *Vote* or *Power*, the *Nobles* and *Gentlemen* being purely *Tributary* to the *Chief City*; unleſs they tranſplanted themſelves, renounc'd their *Cities*, and ſo, by degrees, advanc'd into the *Honour* of a *Burgeſs*; as we now do exerciſe our *Iunior* iſſue. And little different are at this day the celebrated *Common-wealths* of *Venice*, the *United Provinces*, the *Swiſſes*; not to inſtance in thoſe *Petty States* of *Genoua*, *Ragnſa*, *Geneva*, &c. All of them moſtly denominated from thoſe *Principal Cities*, which give Law to the adjacent *Provinces*. Thoſe indeed of the *Hollanders* and *Switzers*, tho' they derive not ſo directly, their *Title* from *One City*, yet are they (in *Subſtance*) of the ſame *Compoſure*; being only an *United Body* of Corporated *Cities*, combin'd in *One*, for *Mutual Defence* againſt *Invaders*, but of an *equal Power* to impoſe upon the Neighbouring *Territories*, ſituate under the aw of each reſpective *City*, or *Town-Garriſon*. It falls not within my Memory, that there ever was, or at This Day is, a *Free-Eſtate* in the whole World, that's manag'd by the *Gentry* Inhabiting at large, or by any People not combin'd within the *Juriſdiction* of their Walls; except the *Griſons*; who are a ſcatter'd People of a mean *Quality*, having long ſince diſown'd their *Gentry*; and are without *Walled Towns* or *Garriſon*; whoſe Confuſions make them eaſie for Conqueſt, were their Country worth it, and not ſecur'd by the *United Cantons*.

But to apply the *Premiſes*; can your *Friend*, or any other Man of the ſame *Stamp* imagine, that our *Nobility* and *Gentry* (as now in Power) will ever be induc'd to admit a *Parity*; will level their *Degree* and *Domination* to a Proportion with their *Coppy-holders*? Nay, will renounce the *wearing* of a *Sword*, and learn to *make* one?

Will

Will ſubmit to become *Tributary* to the *Neighbour-Colony*? If this can be brought about; then perhaps (and not till then) may we again hope to aſpire from our preſent Glorious *State* of *King-ſhip*, to a *Free-ſtate* in *Clown-ſhip*; or at leaſt, from the *Free-giving* of *Subſidies*, to the *Majeſty* of a *Scepter*; to the *Forced-payment* of Tribute to the *High* and *Mighty Burgher*; ſuch as was that *High and Mighty Butcher*, who, not many years ago was commiſſioned by the *Swiſſes*, as one of their *Chiefs* to be *God-Father* to the *French Kings* Son. Now as *Plato* phanſi'd his *Community*, and Sir *Thomas Moor* his *Utopia*; ſo are ſome of *theſe* big with hopes of a Rotation; thereby to re-aſſume their Idoliz'd *Model* of a *Commonwealth*, out of the ſcatter'd *Gentry*, in the nature of a *Houſe of Commons*. But ſince nothing but new *Experiments* will ſerve ſuch mens Turns, I could wiſh they would find other Subjects to try Concluſions upon, than the *Eſtates*, *Lives*, nay, the very *Souls* of *Chriſtians*. You well remember I'me ſure, Sir, that we once ran the *Loſs* of *Thoſe*, and the *Huzzard* of *Theſe*, upon the cloudy proſpect of a *Chimæra* in the *Brains* of ſome: The word *Liberty* deluded us into *Patience*, and patience from 1648. 1660. brought forth not leſs *Payments*, but more *Servitude*. And let them not hope to bring Countenance to their *Cauſe*, by alledging (as they have once done) that they could never be permitted to to foſter up their *Babe* to full perfection; for they will ever be oppoſed by all *Wiſe* and *Loyal* men, who having experimented the *Evils* of ſuch a *State*, will be as vigilant and induſtrious to keep it from getting footing among us again, as thoſe that are *otherwiſe*, can be to bring it on. Beſide that, you cannot have forgot, Sir, that from 1648. to 1653, they had it from the *Nurſe*, and (had they ſtuck to their *Pretences*) might in five years time (or never) have ſet it upon its *Feet*; only they too ſoon (poor wretches) found the *ſweets* of Uſurpation. But then it could never have been of any long *Continuance*, as manifeſtly appear'd

from the great scorn and bitterness that the *Supporters* of it were reproach'd with, when it was *dissolv'd*; there was not so much as one *Bloody Nose* in the defence of that *High and Mighty State*; all the members of it being held in the utmost degree of *detestation*, as they most justly deserved. And though these *Rumpers*, 'its true, came *twice* into play, yet were they only made use of to serve a *Turn*, as being fit to be made a *Property* of; for it was presently found that it was not the desire of *their Rule*, but of a *further change*, that inspirited the *People* against the *Army*; and they (being next at hand) had no sooner remounted the *empty Saddle*, but (before they could be well warm in their *Seat*) they were again *Unhors'd* with a *Publick Leave*, as appear'd by the *Bonefires* (upon *That* Occasion) that might have lighted them to the *Lands-end*, if they had dar'd to be seen among them. So that it is plain from what has been said, that it is not the *sense* or *Interest* of a *Few*, that can long sway a *Nation*; for if the *publick Spirit* be averse, at the *long run* it will prevail; the more Dispute there is with it, the more perverse it grows. And whatever such *Enthusiasts* may dream, even when the *Multitude* have the *Power*, the *Command* yet rests in a *Few*. The most *active Spirits* lead the *Herd*, and ingross the *Place*, the *Profit*, and the *Sway*: This, in generous minds, begets, *Disdain*, and *that*, *Faction*; for when *all* are *equal*, thousands think themselves as deserving of *Rule*, as those that carry it; to satisfie *all* is impossible, to please *few* displeases the *Most*: The Transactions of *that Party* from 1648. to 1660. have made this as *sensible*, as they rendred themselves *contemptible*. In a word, the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *England* have *Spirits* pure, naturally just and generous, like *Fire* aspiring (as a Pyramide) from *low* to *high*; and never resting till it contracts it self into an *Unity* at *top*: So *God* is *One*, or he were not *God*, nor could he Rule the World; and if your Friend likes not *this President*, but still continues to delight in the Rule of

Many,

Many, let him begin a *Pattern* in his own *Family*, and he may *there*, possibly, have enough to do.

§. 3. NOW my hand's in, I shall venture to set one step further, and refresh your memory with a *View* of our *Condition* whilst this *Free-State* kept *above Water*, the *Past* being the surest Clew to direct us in our *Conjectures* upon *Futurities*. In those days we were never free (you may remember) from the apprehensions of an *Insurrection* at *Home*, or an *Invasion* from *Abroad*; living in continual *Fealousies* even of our very next *Neighbours*. These *Fears* obliged us to maintain a considerable *Force* at *Land* and *Sea*, which, lying idle, corrupted, as *standing Water* in a *Pool*, and every moment threatned fresh *Combustions*, as they were blown up this or that way by their new *Masters*; but at the best (like our old Lord-*Danes*) they were most insupportably burthensom and odious to the *Country*, by their *Quartering*; and to keep them as much in *action* as possibly we could, we were fain either to be perpetually amusing them with pretended Discoveries of some *new feigned Plot* or other, or else to engage them in *Foreign Wars*. For the support of this Army (now) we were compelled to daily *Contributions*, besides great and innumerable *Customs* that were exacted; together with the *Excise*, (a *Brat* begotten in the *Low Countries*, with their *State*, which makes them *free* indeed, but then it is in in *Purse*, not in *Privilege*) a Tribute which no King of *England* did always demand, before they enforc'd us to pay it; which being ever before look'd upon as *Poyson*, we then took as *Physick*; and for the bare, but necessary *mention* whereof, in the *House of Commons*, that *Grand Patriot* (as they stiled him) Mr. *Pym*, was by a young Spirit (not without great Applause) call'd to the *Bar*: Add hereunto the *Benevolences*, *Sequestrations*, *five and twentieth parts*, a *Tax* of *fifty Subsidies* at once, (though the late King suffered so much by the demand of *twelve* only) *Fines* and

Compositions,

Compoſitions, ſale of *Kings*, *Biſhops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, and *Delinquents Lands*, the *two parts* of *Papiſts Eſtates*, nay a ſhare of our very *Charities* to the diſtreſſed; and all this over and above the ordinary and conſtant aſſeſſments that were levied. How was it all devoured by this *Army*, whoſe belly indeed was bottomleſs? and yet what *Arrears* did we owe them juſt before the King's Return? Three millions at leaſt! Reform it we durſt not, and our conſtant *charge* to maintain it could not be leſs than two *Millions yearly*. In a word, we never uſed to be in a worſe condition, than when free from Rebellions, becauſe when the people were quiet, we had no *Lands* either to *ſequeſter* or to *ſell*. Our *Trade* fell to nothing, our *Traffick* was interrupted, our *Gold* walk'd *beyond Sea* more freely than in our *own Country*; and we loſt no leſs than 2000 Sail of *Ships* in two or three years time: There was no *ſettlement*, but we were every day dancing after a *new Whiſtle*; *ten Models* we had in propoſal at one time, and every *Faction* ready with *Blood* to aver his own *way* to be the beſt. By our known *Laws* we could not be impriſon'd, but by a Regular proceeding in a *Courſe* of *Juſtice*; but under our *free Eſtate* (on the other ſide) upon the moſt ſlight ſuggeſtions of a ſpiteful *Neighbour* in Authority, we were preſently ſeiz'd by the *Serjeant at Arms*, with his exorbitant Fees! No *Bail*, no *Habeas Corpus*, no regular way of *Juſtice* to do us right! but, after a *Twelvemonths* ſtay in *Goal*, if we could make good *Friends*, and *humble* our ſelves to our potent *Adverſary*, we might poſſibly be diſcharg'd; but without *amends*, or knowing of our *Crime*. Lo thus, while we cajol'd our ſelves with the *Name* of *Freedom*, we loſt the *Thing*; and became *free*, only to be made the moſt deſpicable of *Slaves*.

By this, Sir, you ſee that the *Queſtion* in hand might be decided in a few words; and only by alledging the invincible *Inclination* of the Engliſh to *Monarchy*, as it is now eſtabliſhed: For as no man can well be wrong'd with his *conſent*;

consent, so neither is any man to be oblig'd (were there any such thing in the case) against his *Will*. And indeed how should a *Government*, founded upon *inequality* and *force*, ever subsist *without* it? Or a *State* that must necessarily be the meer *Adjective* of an *Army*, become a *Substantive*? With as much *Reason* might I also object matter of *Title*, because the *same* Estate, with a *flaw* in the *conveyance*, or clogg'd with *Statutes* and *Judgments*, is not surely of like *value*, as if it had been descended clearly from the *great Grandfather*, and were free from *Claims* and *Incumbrances*. But it shall be the next part of my business, with all convenient brevity, to shew that the *present establish'd Government*, as it excellently complies with the *Laws*, *Genius*, and *Interest* of this *Nation*, so it comprehends all the *Benefits* of a *Commonwealth* in great perfection.

To demonstrate how it complies with our *Laws* and *Constitutions*, let it suffice, That (*Monarchy*, in these *Nations*, being more ancient than *Story* or *Records*, more venerable than *Tradition* it self) our *Laws* were born (as it were) under this *Climate*, habituated to this *Diet* and *Air*, grafted into this *Stock*; and though we have (thanks be to God) forgotten our *Norman*, yet will it be very hard for us to learn *Greek*, much less *Utopian*; That in the late *Usurper*'s time, our *Lawyers*, with one Voice, importun'd him rather to assume the *Style* and *Power* of a *King*, to which they found all our *Laws* were shaped, than retain that of a *Protector*, unknown to the *Law*: That nothing rendred the late *Architects* of a *Commonwealth* more obnoxious, than that (notwithstanding their infinite *Discords* in other things) they generally agreed in the *necessity* of subverting all our *Fundamental Laws*, in order to their *Design*: Which Consideration (we are in *Charity* to believe) obliged the sober men of all Parties, the true *Patriots*, (nay and even the chiefest *Pillars* of the *Parliaments Cause* too) to unite themselves with the *Royal Interest*; as not endu-

ring

ring to hear of those violent and dangerous *Alterations* which they plainly saw a *Republick* must necessarily introduce.

For its suiting with our *Genius*, examine we (in the first place) the various *Revolutions* that have happened to this *Island*; *Britains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*; or (more *nearly*) the *changes* in their *Descents* from the *direct Line* to the *Collateral*; or (yet *nearer*) the *times* of *Insurrection* and *deposing Kings*; *Edward* and *Richard*, (both the *Seconds* of the *Name*) and we shall find *King-ship* ever to have been in fashion. Nay, *that* of King *John* is more *notorious*, for when the People had in a sort *dethron'd* him, and sworn *Allegiance* to *Lewis* of *France*, yet when *John* died, the same *People* not only *Expelled* the *Foreigner*, but having got the *Power* into their own hands, they *Crowned* King *John*'s Son, being then an *Infant* without *Interest* or *Adherents*: Nor will all our *Chronicles* afford us one single *Instance* of any *Design* or *Endeavour* to erect a *Free Estate*; (before the late *unnatural times* furnish'd the *President*) no not when *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Straw* revell'd it with their *Clowns*. Neither is this *Genius* ever to be *chang'd*; for reflect we (in the *second* place) that as our *English Nature* is not like the *French*, supple to *Oppression*, and apt to delight in that *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of their *Lords*, which (they know) is supported with their *Slavery* and *Hunger*; Nor like the *Highland Scots*, where the *Honour* and *Interest* of the *Chief* is the *Glory* of the whole *Clan*: So doth it as little (or less) agree with the *Dutch* humour, addicted only to *Traffick*, *Navigation*, *Handicrafts*, and sordid *Thrift*, and (in defiance of *Heraldry*) every man fancying his own *Scutcheon*. For does not every one amongst us, that has the *Name* of a *Gentleman*, labour his utmost to uphold it? He that has *not*, to raise one? To this end, do not our very *Yeomen* commonly leave their *Lands* to the *Eldest* Son, and to the *other* nothing but a *Flail*, or a *Plow*? Did not every one (in the days of our late blessed *Martyr*) pinch himself

himself in his Condition, to purchase a *Knight-hood* or small *Patent?* What need further proof? You cannot but remember, Sir, how that bare *glimpse* and *shadow* of *Monarchy* under *Cromwel*, and his Son *Dick*, (though persons even at the same time *hated* and *scorn'd*; and that too upon a most impious and scandalous account) was, for meer resemblance sake, admitted as *tolerable*, and (in respect of a *Commonwealth*) *courted*: Which clearly evinces, how grateful the *substance* must needs be to all *true English Spirits*.

As to our *Interest*, briefly, (to wave *tedious* and *politick Discourses*) there is no man, but with half an eye may foresee that a *Republick* (were there any possibility of setling one) would destroy all our present *Peace* and *Felicity*, ruinate our *Trade* and *Traffick*, involve us in a *Field* of *Blood*, alarm all our *Neighbours*, make our best *Allies* our bittereſt *Enemies*, and probably draw upon us the united force of *Christendom*, to crush the *Embryo*; which would be the utter *destruction* and *enslaving* of this most *free* and *prosperous Nation*, (could it but once be capable of a due *sense* of its own *Felicity*) to the *Tyrannical Domination* of a *Foreigner*. Beside, (at best) by what *Title* can we pretend to hold *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, should that of *Descent* be avoided; for *Consent* there is none, nor can any be expected?

§. 5. BUT I come now directly to assert, That the *Present Government* eminently includes all the *Perfections* of a *Free-Estate*, and is the *Kernel* (as it were) of a *Commonwealth* in the *Shell* of *Monarchy*. To begin with the *Essential Parts* of a *Commonwealth*: If ever there were a *Free* and *Honourable Senate* (or *Parliament*) under the Cope of *Heaven* it is here; where the *Deputies* of the *whole Nation* most *freely* chosen, do with like *freedom* meet, Propound, Debate, and Vote all matters of *Common Interest*: No *Danger* escapes their Representing, no *Grievance* their

Complaint, no *Publick Right* their Claim, or *Good* their demand; in all which, the least breach of *Privilege* is usually branded with *Sacrilege*: And though there lyes no *Appeal* to the *dispersed Body* of the *People*, (a *Decision* manifestly impracticable in *Government*, and fitter indeed for *Tribunes* to move, than *Nations* to admit) yet (*Elections* being so *popular*, and *Conventions frequent*) the *same end* is attained with much more *safety* and *convenience*. As to the *Executive Part* of the Prince's *Power*, he exercises it by *Ministers* and *Officers*, not only *sworn*, but severely *accomptable*: And though both *He* and the *Lords* have their *Negatives* in passing of Bills, and it be the *King only*, that by his *Royal Fiat*, makes our *Laws*; yet no *Tax* being imposable but by the *consent* of the *Commons*, nor any *Law* (without it) of such *validity*, that the *Ministers* of *Justice* will enforce it, there is a *wise* and *sweet necessity* for the *King*, and likewise for the *Lords*, to pass all such Bills as are convenient for the *People*, and not greatly *hurtful* to the *Prince*. And those that duly weigh the *Reason* of *things*, do find a *Negative* in the *King* to be a most safe *preservative* of *Peace* to the People, who have as much *comfort* under the protection of his *Prerogative*, as they have *Benefit* by their own Privileges; For in truth, this *Bug-bear Negative* (as our *Republicans* labour to represent it) is an impenetrable *Target*, to shelter and secure the Government from being alter'd at the *Will* of the *Commons*, if at any time they should again prove factious. This (being in *reason* manifest) has also been confirm'd by great Experience; our *Kings* having rarely obstructed any *Bill* which they might safely grant; but on the other side, pass'd many *High Acts* of *meer Grace*; circumscribing their *Prerogative*, and clipping its *Wings*; nay better had it been for us, if they had not pierc'd its very *Bowels*.

This is that *Triple-Cord* that could never yet be *broken*, though it has been *Cut asunder*; This is our *Gold seven times Refin'd*; for every *Bill*, being *thrice* Read, Debated, and

Agreed in *Either House*, is at last brought to the *King* for his *Royal Assent*; (which is the *Mint* of our *Laws*:) a *Tryal* so exact, that surely no *Dross* can escape it; since all *Interests* must thereto concur; as truly it is but fit they should, in the Establishment of *That* which must *Bind all*. This is that *Temperament*, which purges our *Humors*, and (at once) endues us with *Health*, *Vigour*, and *Beauty*: No *Vote* is here precipitated; no *Act* huddled up; as by sad *Events*, you saw they formerly us'd to be, when the *Power* was engrossed by a pretended House of *Commons*, purg'd and moulded to the *Interests* of a *Faction*; a *Consequence* but Natural to such *Premises!* Nothing was *(there)* weigh'd, but as in a Ballance consisting of one Scale; our *Laws* were *Mandrakes* of a *Nights Growth*; and our *Times* as *Fickle* as the *Weather* of the *Multitude*.

The *King* has the *Power of making War*, but then he cannot well be said to have the *Means*; so that it does not amount to extraordinary much more, than a *Liberty* to *Fly* if he can get *Wings*. He has a *Sword* also; but *Himself* alone very rarely draws it: And though he has the sole right in the *Militia*, yet is he pleased to wear it only as a decent Weapon; Vouchsafing to the Nation, in a large Degree, the *Use* and *Benefit* of it. He chuses his *Ministers*; (as who doth not his *Servants?*) but then they pass through such a *Test*, as none but the soundest *Integrity* can abide. He can hinder the stroke of *Justice* with his *Pardon*, (tho' still, the *Laws* not being *muzzled*, it will *Bite* terribly) but then (on the *Other* side) the means of *Relieving* his *Wants* rests in the *Commons*, to Ballance his *Will*, and induce him to a *Correspondence* with *Parliaments*.

That his *Person* should be *Sacred*, is most *Needful*, to avoid *Circulation* of *Accounts*; *Reasonable*, since it carries with it the *Consent* of *Nations*; *Just*, that he become not the meer *Butt* of *Faction*, and *Malice*, and be in a worse *Condition* than the *Basest* of *Vassals*; *Honourable*, that the *Nakedness* of *Government* be not daily *Uncover'd*; *Wise*,

in the *Constitution* that so we may not (at *once*) both *Trust*, and *Provoke*, by forcing him to shift for his *Own Indemnity*; no danger to the *Publick* seeming so *Extreme*, as the *Outlawry* of a *Prince*; no *Task* (by daily *Experience*) so difficult, as the *Arraigning* of any *Power*, whether *Regal* or *Popular*: And if we make *Golden Bridges* for *Flying Enemies*, much more should we afford them to *Relenting Sovereigns*, against whom we have no remedy but Prayers and Patience. Upon this account, in our Neighbour *Kingdom* of *France*, even *Princes of the Blood* are not subjected to *Capital Punishments*. *Finally*, very *safe* it is in the Consequence; for should a *King* be never so *wicked* and *Tyrannical*, yet being (by the danger threatning his Corrupt *Ministers*) stript of *Agents*, his *Personal Impunity* might signifie something to *Himself*, perhaps, but nothing to the *People*.

A *Revenue* he has, for the support of his *State* and *Family*, *Ample*; for the *Ordinary Protection* of his *People*, *Sufficient*; but for any considerable *Undertaking*, *Defective*; and for *Publick Oppression* so *Inconsiderable*, that when *Prerogative* was most *Rampant*, our *Greatest Princes* (and some doubtless we have had, the most Renowned *Warriours* of their *Age*) could never, prudently, aspire to make themselves *Absolute*. The *Royal Revenue* is proportioned to the Maintenance of *Courts*, not *Camps*, and *Fleets*: In fine, it is very *Competent* for *Ordinary Disbursements*, and as for *Extraordinary* he resorts to *Parliaments*; the *Wiser* He, and the *Happier* We! Now there is nothing more *Demonstrative*, than that, upon Examination, we may find the *present Government* to be (compared with all the other *Models* of the *Late Times*) a mighty *Ease* to the *Publique Charge*; we allow'd the *Tyrant Cromwell* no less then a constant *Revenue* of 1900000 *l.* to support him in his *Usurpation*; and yet That Sum (beside all his other intollerable *Squeezings*) at the years end, clear'd not the Account by far. Under the *Rump* a great deal more was yearly

ly Collected out of the *Bowels* of the People, to maintain the *Army*; and yet for all that we could never be at quiet, but were perpetually embroyl'd in *Wars* either *Abroad* or at *Home*, by our *active Spirits*, *some* to feed their *Ambition*, *others* their *Purses*: And such a *Spirit* we read of, working in all *Free-States*, *Ancient* and *Modern*. What shall we say now of the *Expences* of the *Late King*, if examin'd by This *Standard*? His *Revenue* in *Lands*, *Perquisites*, and *Customs*, exceeded not 700000 *l.* a year; and yet by the good management of that most *Thrifty* and *Temperate* Prince, that *petite Annuity* furnish'd a *glorious Court*, a *Noble Equipage* for the Honour of the *Nation*, and paid off a considerable *Fleet*; which never was much improved, afterwards, by all our vast *Payments*, when we were so unfortunate as to fall into *Others* hands. Nay and our *present Charge* is rather a *Sport*, than a *Burthen*, compared with their *Monthly Tax*.

True it is, that while we live with *Men*, we shall be subject to *That* which is the Effect of their *Nature*, *Sin*; nor is it possible to reap the more *General Fruit* of the best Establish'd *Policy*, unless we submit to some possible *Inconveniences*. But yet I defie your *Friend*, and all other *Projectors* of *Common-wealths*, to contrive greater Freedom for their *Citizens*, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and *The Petition* of *Right*; or shew that it is not much easier to *Violate*, than to *Mend* them; for *Thereby*, our Lives, Liberties, and Estates are, under *Monarchy*, secur'd and establish'd as well (I think) as any thing, on this side *Heaven*, can be. It is no *Solœcism* to say, that the *Subject* has his *Priviledges*, as well as the King; and no *Prince* ever attempted any Violation of them, but at the *Long Run*, he suffer'd in that point of his *Prerogative* that let in the *Opportunity*. Hence it is that the *Rights* of the *People* have grown stronger and stronger against the *Prince*, and *sometimes* have hurried his *Person* to be a Sacrifice; *always*, his *Instruments*; whereof few, in our *History*, can we read, that, Designing against the *Law*, have died in *peace*. If, possibly,

possibly, *One Prince* (as King *Harry*) by his *High Spirit*, sweep all before him, yet his *Infant Successor* is fain to make amends for his Fathers *Violations*: So that *Liberty* (we see) is no less *Sacred*, than *Majesty*; *Noli me tangere* being its *Motto* likewise: And in case of any, the least *Infringement*, (as *Escapes* in *Government* may happen, even in the most *perfect*) it is resented as if the *Nation* had received a *Box on the Ear*. If it be (as they say) the *Glory* of a *Free-State*, to *Exalt*; the *Scandal* of *Tyranny*, to *Embase* our *Spirits*; doubtless the *Establish'd Form* is our *Only Common-wealth*; for all that we got by the *Change* of it, was but the learning quietly to take the *Bastinade*. Nay, and at the very *worst* that can be imagin'd, it is much more *Easie* (were it *Lawful*) for us to dispute our *Rights* with a *single Prince*, and his *Trembling Agents*; than (as it was our *Case* formerly) with a *Knot* of *Sovereigns* that are backt with the *Sword*.

We are now again able to distinguish (which we could never do under their *Free-Estate*, for all the fair Promises they made us) the *Legislative*, and the *Ministerial Authority*: For tho' *both* of them are Inherent in the *King*, yet are not both of them his own peculiar and Personal *Act*. We know that the *House* of *Commons* has not the Power of a *Court-Leet*, to give an *Oath*, nor of a *Justice of the Peace*, to make a *Mittimus*: And this *Distinction*, doubtless, is the most *Vital part* of *Freedom*, and far more considerable to poor *Subjects*, than all these mens pretended *Rotations*; as, on the *contrary*, the absolute *Fumbling* and *Confounding* of them, is an Accomplishment of *Servitude*; for which all Republicks, I fear, (and our late one more especially) have more to Answer, than any *Limited Sovereign* can have. And certain it is, that as our *Prince*, in his *Personal Capacity*, *makes* no *Laws*; so neither does he, by *himself*, *Execute* or *Interpret* any: No *Judge* takes notice of his *single Command*, to justifie any *Trespass*; no not so much as the breaking of a *Hedg*;

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his *Power* is Circumſcribed by his *Juſtice*; he is (equally with the meaneſt of his *Subjects*) concern'd in that *Honeſt Maxim*; *We may do juſt ſo much, and no more, than we have* Right *to do.* And it is tolerably enough ſaid, with reſpect to his Political Capacity, *He can do no wrong*, becauſe, if it be *wrong*, he does it not; it is *void* in the *Act*, and *puniſhable* in his *Agent.* His *Officers*, as they are alike lyable, ſo, perhaps, they are more *Obnoxious* to *Indictments* and *Suits*, than any *other*; by how much their *Treſpaſs* ſeems to be of a *Higher Nature*, and gives greater *Alarm:* His *Private Will* does not Countermand his *Publick*; his *Privy Seal* ſtill buckles to his *Great Seal*, as being (in a ſenſe) the *Nations*, as well as *His*; His *Order* ſupercedes no *Proceſs*; and His *Diſpleaſure* threatens no man with an hours *Impriſonment*, after the *Return* of *Habeas Corpus:* An *Under Sheriff* is more Terrible, a *Conſtable* more Sawcy, a *Bayliff* more Troubleſom than *He:* And yet by his *Gentle Authority*, by this *Scabbard* of *Prerogative* (as ſome in deriſion have lewdly term'd it) which (if it *Would*) *Could* ſcarce Oppreſs an *Orphan*; *Tumults* are Curb'd, *Faction* Moderated, *Uſurpation* foreſtall'd, *Intervals* Prevented, *Perpetuities* Obviated, *Equity* Adminiſtred, *Clemency* Exalted, and the *People* made *Happy* to a degree even of *Satiety* and *Wantonneſs.*

To Conclude this *Point:* What ſhall I add more? The *Act* enjoyning the *Keepers* of the *Great Seal*, under pain of *High Treaſon*, to *Summon* a *Triennial Parliament*, of Courſe, by Virtue of the *Act*, without *further Warrant*; The *Act* forbidding the *Privy-Council* to intermeddle with *Meum & Tuum*; the Law aboliſhing the *Star Chamber*, *High Commiſſion*, &c. Branding all *paſt*, and Bridling all *future enormities:* The *Statutes* limiting the *King's Claims*, the Acts about Quartering of Soldiers, and *Habeas Corpus*; beſide many other principal *Immunities*, wherewith (by the Eſpecial *Favour* of *God*, and the *Bounty* of our *Princes*) we are *Bleſſed*, far beyond any of our *Neighbours:* Above all,

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our *Assurance* (by the *Goodness* and *Clemency* of our present *Dread Sovereign*) readily to obtain such further *Addition* and *perfection* of *Liberty* and *Security*, (if any such there can be) as may consist with *Modesty* and *Liberty* it self, to ask: Does not all this Proclaim aloud, that we are the *Mirrour* of *Governments*, *Envy* of *Monarchies*, and *Shame* of *Common-wealths*; who cannot but blush to see themselves so Eclipsed and Silenc'd, in all their *Pretences* to *Freedom*? And does it not more than justifie my *Assertion*, that *with all the* Ornaments *of the* Noblest Kingdom, *we have*, *likewise*, *all the Enjoyments of* a Free-Estate.

§. 6. HAVING thus given you the *Reasons* why I conceive, the Project of fixing the *Model*, which your Friend terms a *Free-Estate*, here among us, would be *Impracticable*; presented you with a Prospect of the mischiefs and Distractions that were the *Consequents* of a like attempt, from Forty to Sixty; Asserted the natural *Print* and *Inclination* of the *English* to *Monarchy*, exclusively of any other Form of *Regiment* whatsoever; Anatomiz'd the *Royal Prerogative*, and Sum'd up the great Immunities, Blessings and Privileges which we do peculiarly, and above any other People or Nation in the known World, at this day enjoy, under the established *Government Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*: I shall now apply my self directly to touch upon the *Second Branch* of your *Commands*; I mean the *Affair* of the *Black-Box*, and the *Design* of *Interrupting* and *Inverting* the *Legal Succession* of the *Crown* of these *Kingdoms*.

You would not (I know Sir) have imposed a *Trouble* of *This* nature, either upon your self, or *Me*, had you been Ignorant, or Insensible of the Active and Inveterate *Malice* of some Turbulent, Evil-minded Persons (Profess'd Enemies to all *Civil Rule* and *Order*) who perceiving the Eye of *Authority*, necessitated to abate of its usual Stricktness over them, upon the Discovery of the *Hel-*

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Iſh Plot now in Agitation, and Deſigning not to let ſlip ſo Eminent an *Occaſion* of expreſſing their *Malevolence* to the *Government*, and of improving the juſt *Odium* the *Papiſts* at preſent lye under, into ſome degree of *Reputation* to their own *Party*, both at once; have mightily endeavoured and beſtir'd themſelves, by falſe *Reports*, forged *Tales*, and *Diſcoveries*, Invidious *Miſ-repreſentations* of the moſt ſolemn Acts and *Reſolutions* of *State*, Virulent and Audacious *Pamphlets* of all *Sorts*, both *Printed* and *Written*, and by a Thouſand other *Tricks* and *Inventions*, of the like quality, wherewith the *Father* of *Lyes* and *Slanders* has from time to time ſuppli'd them, to ſow Seeds of *Diſcord* and *Animoſity* in all Families as well publick as *Private*, raiſe Storms of *Jealouſy* and *Diſcontent*, Alienate the minds and Affections of the People from their *Sovereign*, Principle them into *Diſloyalty*, Poyſon them in their *Allegiance*, and to divide them into *Parties* and *Factions*: And all this too under the Plauſible Cover of zeal againſt *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Encroachments*; but with a *Direct* (though *Covert*) *Aim* at the Subverſion of the moſt Excellent Form of *Polity* by Law eſtabliſht among us, to make way for the Introduction of certain Licentious and Phantaſtick *Whimſies* of their own. But finding now by Experience that from all theſe undue Practices and Pretences (how plauſible ſoever) they could promiſe to themſelves little or no Aſſiſtance toward the compaſſing of the Treaſonous *Ends* aforeſaid; and taking advantage of Apprehenſions, and Bitterneſs of the *Multitude* againſt the *Preſumptive Heir*, upon his being, by theſe *Incendiaries*, repreſented as a *Principal* in the Conſpiracy; They, laying their Heads together again, reſolv'd to change their *Battery*; and wholly apply themſelves to the *Altering* of the Legal Succeſſion of the *Crown*: Thus providently Computing upon it, that could they but once of an *Hereditary* turn *This* into an *Elective Kingdom*, and get a *Prince* of the *Peoples Chuſing*, 'twas but picking a

Quarrel with him, (and what's more eaſie than to find a *Hole* in another mans Coat?) Dethroning him, and then their *Work* were done, their *Model* would fall in of Courſe. To this end now, with dark *Hints*, and ſecret *Whiſpers*, they bore their Credulous *Proſelites* in hand, as if the K. had *Legitimate Iſſue*: Not intending yet, that *this* Report ſhould forthwith become *Publick*; but to keep it in *Reſerve* till they might gain their Point by't, and then blow it down again with the ſame facility as they had raiſed it. But the *Flam* Squaring ſo exactly with the then Predominant *Humour* of the Rabble, not only went down without Chewing, but alſo ſpred it ſelf ſo much beyond expectation, that the *Authors* of it ſoon found themſelves obliged to gratifie the Curioſity of ſome prying men of the *Faction* with the Grounds and Reaſons of this their Belief. They had their Story at their Fingers-ends; Suggeſted a *Marriage* (or *Contract* at leaſt) between the K. and Mrs. *W.* while Beyond-Sea, and that the late B. of *D.* had Conſigned a writing (in a *Black-Box*) into the Cuſtody of Sir *G. G.* that had been produced before ſeveral Perſons, and imported as much as all *This* came to. This impudent *Pretext* met with Credit from ſuch as were prepared to entertain what they ſo earneſtly deſired ſhould be true; and paſſing from an effect of meer *Spight* in ſome *few*, to a Subject of Looſe and Idle *Diſcourſe* in a great *many*, at length reacht the *Court*: So that Authority (though knowing full well that it was Impoſſible that any thing of *This* ſhould be real, yet) Searching with much Strictneſs of enquiry into the matter, ſoon detected the *whole* to be a moſt *Villanous Impoſture*; to the great Satisfaction of all honeſt and Peaceable men, and no leſs Confuſion of ſuch as had ſuffered themſelves ſo eaſily to be Impoſed upon. The *Principals*, in the mean time, growing Deſperate, upon ſeeing that not only their wicked Intents were thus diſcovered and defeated, but alſo that their Credits, *Fleſh* and all, lay at

ſtake; their *Familiar* help'd them out at this *dead Lift*, and prompted to the repreſenting the Buſineſs to the Multitude, as a Contrivance of the *Papiſts*, (who (believe me) have faults enough of their *own* to anſwer for, without ſtanding accountable for thoſe of other people) to diſcredit a *juſt Claim*.

Now they were too crafty, not to foreſee that ſuch an undertaking were to give themſelves the Lye, in the face of the Sun; and not to be ſet upon, but by, firſt, trampling under foot all Senſe and Obligations of *Truth*, *Conſcience*, *Honour*, *common Shame*, and *Allegiance*; but to ſuch *Proficients* in *Wickedneſs*, theſe Conſiderations were rather an *Encouragement* than a *Diſſwaſive*; ſo that they took the *Task* in hand, and performed it (under the Notion of *A Letter to a Perſon of Honour*, *concerning the affairs of the Black Box.*) to the horror and aſtoniſhment of *Chriſtianity*, nay of *Humane Nature* it ſelf. For, purſuing the *Subject* of their late *Appeal from the Country to the City*, (though improving and ſupplying it with freſh additions of twenty times lewder *Tenets* than the former) they inſerted little leſs than downright *Treaſon* into five of the ſeven Printed Pages, in which that pretended *Letter* is contained; and ſtufft every *Paragraph* of it with all the Falſhood, Sedition, Slander, Inſolence, Contumely, and Detraction, imaginable: Only in this they have overſhot themſelves, that they have daub'd on the Colours ſo abominably *Thick* and *Unskilfully*, and *Reaſon'd* after ſo extravagant a manner, (every ſubſequent Period of it being a ſort of *Confutation* of the Precedent) that there is no great danger of any ſober mans being ſeduced into a favourable *Opinion* of ſo palpable a *Cheat*. They aſſert a *Coordination* of *Government*, cry up the *Sovereign Power* of the *People*, inſinuate the *King* to be *accountable* to his *Subjects*, repreſent him capable of *Self-Depoſition*, ſpeak contemptuouſly of his Sacred *Perſon*, bring him into the *Plot* againſt his own *Life*, Libel the *Privy Council*, at-

taint the *Blood Royal*, (a) even in the face of the most *solemn Evidence* to the contrary; and fling about their *Poyson* (upon all *Conditions* and *Qualities*) at so horrid a rate, that it is enough to make a man *tremble*, the very *Thought* of it: Insomuch, that did but that illustrious Person, of whom, with a *Brazon'd Front*, they presume to make a *Stale*, for the better passing off their *Villany*, know *where*, or *what* they are, he has too great a sense of *Honour*, *Duty*, and *Filial Tenderness*, not to be the *First*, that should hurry them into a *Court of Justice*. For as he has too much *Courage* to be frightned out of any thing that is his *Due*; so has he too much *Justice* also, to invade the *Property* of another: And since the King's *Declaration* (which by this time possibly may have come to your Hand, and which is since past into a Record) has fully determined upon the Right of *Succession*, it is the Duty of every good *Christian* and *Subject* to rest satisfied; and lay aside all *Contrastations* upon *that* point. Now there is *Impiety* in the bare *Proposition* of Erecting a *crackt Title*; beside that in all probability we should find such a *Remedy* worse than the *Disease* it self: For thus, a Personal *Quarrel* would be set afoot, and at the *long run* the Spirits of this Generous People beyond measure *Disgusted*, in that they must, *then*, be *subjected* to their *Equal*; who, to retain his *Usurpation*, will be forc'd to Repeat and Accumulate those *Violences*, whereof we had most woful experience under the *Old Protector*: *Otherwise*, he will soon be made the *Object* of our *Contempt*, (as was *Cromwel*'s Son, with his *Ease* and *Gentle* way of *Acting*) and his *Name* be used only as a *Cloak* to cover the *Avarice* and *Exorbitances* of a *Ravenous Faction*. Neither, in truth, could *this Project* prevent a *Relapse* into our former *Calamities*, becaufe our *Fears* (in that case) will ever be great and continual, and, consequently, our *Charge* proportionable. To be brief, all the *Evils* and *Miseries* that were brought upon us by the

a See *Par.* 23, 24. and *Fol.* 64. of Dr. *Oates's Narrative* of the *Plot*. And *Ireland's Tryal*, *Fol.* 22.

the *Army*, the *Rump*, and all the other *Architects* of our *Slavery* in the late Times, will certainly be found *Tolerable*, compared with the *Genuine Effects* of so *Desperate* and *Unwarrantable* a *Proceeding*.

§. 7. TO this *Probable* Account of the Business of the *Black-Box*, and Representation of the mischievous *Consequences* of any attempt to Erect a *Crackt Title*, or Interrupt the *true Succession of the Crown*, must (you say) be subjoyned, an enquiry into the principal *Colours* and *Artifices*, that these *Troublers of our Israel* make use of, to palliate and conceal from the *Dim-sighted Mobile*, the *Poyson* and *Disloyalty* of their more secret *Projects* and *Machinations*. And truly (not knowing into what hands these Papers may fall) I shall not grutch my Pains in this particular; For although, as *Islanders* we cannot hope to be clear of all Tincture of levity; though we are so ingenious at starting *Fears* and *Jealousies* (being most Obstinately Tenacious of our *Liberties*) as sometimes to deprive our selves of the Fruition of the *Present* felicities, through too eager and Pensive, a Sollicitation for the *Future*; and so prone to be *Over-heated* upon the question of *Religion*, as to be scarce Capable of avoiding a *Sylla*, without being violently hurri'd upon the *other Extreme* of Mis-carrying in a *Charybdis*: Yet *are we* again generally so *Just*, *Loyal*, *Conscientious*, *Sincere*, and *Resolute* a People, as to fall upon Tearing any man in pieces (even though he had before, in his *Disguise*, taken advantage of our Credulity) that should presume in *direct Terms*, to recommend the Changing of the *Established Government*, for any other *Model* of *Policy* whatsoever. And indeed *This* is a *Truth* too Notorious, ever to be put to the *Tryal*. But yet so *Houd-winkt* at this time, is our *Reason*; that the very *Umbrage* of the *Presumptive Heirs* being of the *Red-Letter-Stamp*, is of it self, (without any other *Sleights*) found Sufficient to create in us a firm *Belief*, that *Popery*, and *Tyranny* (the old

old *Stales*,) are breaking in upon us like a *Deluge*. So that with producing *Arguments*, to *Moderate* our *Apprehenſions* as to the *One*; to prove the almoſt *Impoſſibility* of Effecting the *Other*, were there never ſo great a Diſpoſition that way; and with an *Offer* at an *Expedient* of my *own*, in reference to the Security of our *Religion*, and *Freedoms*; I ſhall put a Period to this Tedious *Scrible*.

No man is more willing than my ſelf, to grant that the *Popiſh Religion* is little better than a *Compound* of meer *Secular Intereſt*, *Hypocriſie*, and *Superſtition*; and that the very *Principles* of the *Jeſuits* do inſpirit and Prompt them to the acting of Outragious *Violences*, upon the Perſons of thoſe that enjoy a greater *Light* and *Purity* of the *Goſpel*, than themſelves. But yet I muſt averr (on the other hand) that, Since, through the peculiar *Mercy* and *Providence* of God, and the Indefatigable Induſtry and Vigilance of *Authority*; all their *Machinations* have hitherto been defeated, and their *Conſpiracies* againſt *Church* and *State* rendred Abortive; it will become us both as *Men* and *Chriſtians*, to temper our *Paſſions*, and to reſt *ſatisfied* with the ſingular *Care* and *Concern*, that the Government vouchſafes continually to expreſs both for our *preſent* and *future ſafety* and *preſervation*, in all Reſpects. Full well I know, that nothing is of greater Concernment than the Security of that *Religion*, which, by the Blood of ſo many bleſſed and Glorious *Martyrs*, has (by Gods immediate bleſſing) been ſo firmly Eſtabliſh'd amongſt us. But then we are to take ſpecial heed too that we lend not over eaſie an *Ear* to ſuch as cry up *Religion*, and deſign *Faction*; as cry out *Zeal* for the *Lord of Hoſts*, when they intend only *Self Intereſt*; to keep up a *party*; an *Affected way*, or to be the *Ipſe dixit* of a *County*: *Religion* has not at all proſper'd by undue practices to advance it. 'Tis *Meekneſs*, *Patience*, *Humility*, and other the Graces of the *Spirit*, that *Convince* and *Convert*; when *Rigidneſs*, *Cenſuring*

ing and the *Sword Inflame* and *Harden*. Has not Gods *power*, or *truth*, *Evidence* to ſecure it ſelf? Let but the *Goſpel* have *Free-paſſage*, and it will make its own way: For all true *Proteſtants* do unanimouſly diſown the Promotion of it by the *Sword*, as totally *Unchriſtian*; and bequeath it to the *Pope*, and the *Turk*. Was not, now, the maintenance of our *Fundamental Laws* the pretence of our late *Quarrel*? Found we not the *Spirit* of the *Nation* rouz'd up, upon the ſound of a *Trumpet*? *Popery*, was it not *decry'd*, and *Religion*, *Proteſtant Religion*, judg'd to be in *danger*? Were we not call'd out to the *Battel*, upon the account of *Zeal*, with *Curſe ye Meroz*? And yet under our *Free-Eſtate* (as they termed it) our *Religion* (ſo much of it eſpecially as could be call'd *Proteſtant*) turn'd into *Wantonneſs*; and our *Diviſions* became ſo great, that we durſt not *exaſperate*, by advancing that *Idol* of the *Presbyters*, *Diſcipline*; nor indeed *could* we, if we *durſt*; for the moſt *active* of our *Statiſts*, If they had any *Religion* at all 'twas that of the *Sectary*, which they own'd as the main *Supporter* of their *Model*, whoſe *Intereſt* it was to give *Licentiouſneſs* to *all*. As for *Laws*, thoſe which we ador'd for *Excellency* and *Antiquity*, they were (by them) of neceſſity alter'd, in our *Freedoms* of *Perſon* and *Eſtate*, wherein true *Liberty* is principally concern'd: For when the *Houſe of Commons* (or rather the *Rump* of it) had engroſs'd the *Soveraign Power*; they both *Impoſed* Taxes, and *Levy'd* them, by *vertue* of a *trifling Ordinance*, which could never be done before, but by an Act of *Parliament*, ſolemnly and regularly paſs'd by the *King* and the *Three Eſtates*: And having of *Tribunes of the people*, (as it were) and their *Bulwark* againſt *High Payments*, and *Impreſſures*, demanded by the *King*, advanc'd themſelves into the degree of *Princes*; they took upon them to *aſſeſs* and *impreſs* us at pleaſure; and we might complain as long as we would of the *Reiterated Burthen*; but there was no *remedy* but Patience; becauſe no *Appeal* left us, themſelves being both *Parties* and *Judges*.

I could heartily wiſh there were at preſent no more reaſon to be apprehenſive of *Popery*, than there was in thoſe days: But yet, let his R. H's. *perſwaſion* be what it will; this I'm ſure of, that Dr. *Oates* has depoſed upon *Oath*, that the *Jeſuits* were ſo far from *ſaying* or *acting indifferently*, as to his *perſon*, that in their *Helliſh Plot*, they had mark'd him out alſo for *Slaughter*, with his moſt *Royal*, moſt *Proteſtant Brother*. Now the late *Marqueſs* of *Argyle* was wont to lay it down as a *Principle* in *Policy*, that it was the *Character of a wiſe man*, *not to let the World know what Religion he was of*: But (for my *own* part) I cannot in *Charity* but hope the beſt (as to Chriſtian tenderneſs and moderation in Religious concernments) of a *Perſon*, that has been ſo *Lectur'd* and *Tutor'd* by our late *Glorious Martyr*, (as well as by *Experience*) into a *Veneration* for, and a *perſeverance* in that *Pure*, *Reformed Religion*; the *Principles* of which he ſuck'd in with his very *Milk*, and in *Defence* of which his ever bleſſed *Father* laid down his moſt precious *Life* upon a *Scaffold*. You may read his words thus. 'I do require you, (*addreſſing to his pre-*'*ſent Majeſty*) as your *Father*, and your *King*, that you ne-'ver ſuffer your Heart to receive the leaſt *Check* againſt, or '*Diſaffection* from the *True Religion eſtabliſh'd in the Church* '*of* England: I tell you I have tryed it, and after much '*Search*, and many *Diſputes*, have concluded it to be the *beſt* 'in the World, not only in the *Community*, as *Chriſtian*, 'but alſo in the *ſpecial Notion*, as *Reformed*; keeping the '*middle way* between the *pomp* of *Superſtitious Tyranny*, and 'the *meanneſs* of *Phantaſtick Anarchy*, &c. To this ſence, ſpake he, when he had no *more* to ſpeak.

As to the apprehenſions of *Tyranny*, I hope (by what I have already delivered in the *Body* of this *Diſcourſe*) it appears, that there is leſs ground to fear it, than many people might before imagine; for that it is next to an *Impoſſibility* to introduce it. And upon probable grounds, I perſwade my ſelf, that ſhould the *Duke* ever have the *occaſion* offer'd,

yet

yet would he be wiſer than to make tryal of the *Experiment*; knowing ſo well as he muſt needs do, that ſhould the *Engliſh Liberties* be violated in the example but of any one ſingle Perſon, all the tyes of Conſcience and Allegiance would hardly be ſufficient to reſtrain the Nation from holding it ſelf concern'd upon that account, and apprehend it ſelf ready for the *Fetters*; whereby, what with *Fear*, what with *Hate*, ſuch a ſtorm would be rais'd, as might ſhake the ſureſt *Foundations* of the *Government*; and ſo very much has *Majeſty* already ſuffer'd by the *Fury* of the *People*, that it has no reaſon to be over earneſt upon a freſh encounter of it.

But 'tis farther *Objected* (it ſeems) that there is a *Vindictive* and *Implacable Spirit* in the Caſe. Now this is moſt manifeſt (indeed) that there have been *provocations* to the *height*; but ſhall we therefore *continue* to *provoke*, becauſe we have *begun*? 'Tis a Rule (you know) that he that *does wrong*, *never* forgives, but he that *has wrong*, *may*. The Intereſt of *Revenge* is paſſionate, but the Intereſt of *Profit* ariſes from a *paſſion* that prevails more; and he is very *weak*, that antepoſes *Rumour* and *vain Paſſion*, when it ſtands in Competition with his *Safety*. To ſpeak home, *Intereſt* rules the whole World, and *Princes* (as *others*) do more intend the eſtabliſhing of their *own Greatneſs*, than a *petty Revenge* that may *hazard* it: But for this ſearch we the *Experiences* of *paſt Ages*. *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, was ſo far from *puniſhing* any of the *holy League*, that labour'd, by all means poſſible, to *keep* him from his *Right*, and to *murther* him, that (on the *contrary*) he imployed thoſe very Perſons that had been his *main Oppoſites*, in his *Armies*, in his *Offices*, and in his *Councils*. And what ſhall we ſay of King *James*, who ſent *Meſſages*, made *Vows*, menaced *Revenge*, and all to prevent that fatal *Stroke* from falling upon his *Mother*, (the *Queen* of *Scots*) under Queen *Eliz.* but to no effect. Obſerve the Iſſue now: Shortly Q. *Eliz.* dies, and thoſe very *Lords* that acted perſonally

in the *Mothers Death*, were the moſt forward to *court* the *Son* to the *Crown*, and he became eſtabliſhed with all *Prerogatives* incident to the *Engliſh Scepter*. What? Acts he in the way of *Revenge?* No; he, like a *wiſe Prince*, feeling the *warmth* of ſo *rich* a *Climate*, generouſly pardons the *injury* of his *Mother*, and we read not of ſo much as one of thoſe *Nobles*, or their *Iſſue*, that ſuffer'd *Diminution* by any Reſentment, upon *that* account. His *wiſe Father* alſo, that had been beaten into the knowledge of the *Engliſh Spirit*, writes thus: 'Let no Paſſion (my Son) be-'tray you to any ſtudy of *Revenge* upon thoſe whoſe own 'Sin and Folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time: 'Be confident that *moſt* of all *Sides* that have done *Amiſs*, 'have done ſo, not out of *Malice*, but *Miſ-information*, or '*Miſ-apprehenſion* of Things. None will be more *Loyal* 'to *Me* or *You*, than thoſe Subjects, who, ſenſible of *Their* '*Errors*, and *Our Injuries*, will feel, in their own *Souls*, 'moſt vehement *motions* to *Repentance*, and earneſt *deſires* 'to make ſome *Reparations* for their former *Defects*, *&c.* The like ſaid he at his *laſt hour*. But why do we *Doubt* or *Diſtruſt?* May we not have a *Proteſtant Parliament* upon all *Exigencies*? Have we not a *Proteſtant Council*, a *Proteſtant Militia*, a *Proteſtant Clergy*, and a *Proteſtant People*? what (in reaſon) can we deſire more, toward our future ſecurity?

§. 8. YOU will not expect from me (I'm ſure) that I ſhould ſo acquit my ſelf of every *Objection*, as to leave all men ſatisfied; eſpecially ſuch as carry a *Byaſs* of *Preferment*, *Profit*, or *Faction:* Men that have in deſign *Exorbitances* of *Power*, or *Wealth*, will hardly, with *Arguments*, be reclaimed: And ſome there are (I know) that have ſo long poſſeſſed their *Heads* with *ſtrong Notions*, that they are not capable to take in *Reaſon*, againſt them; and thereupon, run on *Frantick* in Error, till there be a *Rotation* in their *Brains:* Such there are, who with *Confidence*, ſo often

have

have told a *Lye*, that, at length, themſelves come to believe it to be a *Truth*: But we ſhall be too wiſe (I hope, ſhould ever that day come) to prefer the *Intereſt* or *Wilfulneſs* of a *Few*, to the *Safety* and *Welfare* of the *Whole*. I ſhall not deny, yet, that it is eaſier to demonſtrate what *may be Evil*, than poſitively to aſſert what *will be Good*: but however comparing *Times* with *Things*, (as is above repreſented) I doubt not to Evidence, that to *keep where we are*, and to *be contented with our Lot*, is a Courſe much rather to be embrac'd, as that which, in great *probability may be Good*; than, by puſhing at *Incertainties*, to pull down moſt lamentable *Confuſions* and *Deſolations* upon our own *Heads*, which of neceſſity muſt *be Evil*. I therefore ever was, and ſtill am of opinion, that it is both our *Intereſt* and our *Duty* to embrace, with *Open Arms*, the late, ample, generous *Offers* of his moſt Gracious Majeſty, in order to Proviſions for our *future Security*, in point of *Freedom* and *Religion*: As for the *Reſt*, let us but have our *Good Old Laws* duly put in Execution; and then (by Gods aſſiſtance) we ſhall be in a *Capacity* to defie the *Pope*, the *Devil*, and all their *Works*, come what will come.

§. 9. Thus, Sir, have I run through the ſeveral *Heads* that you were pleaſed to propound: And if, by what I have written, I be ſo fortunate as to make your Friend a *Convert*, 'twill be an infinite ſatisfaction to me; becauſe, thereby I may hope to *ſave* a *Soul*; but, at the worſt, I may ſay with the Text, that *I ſhall hide a multitude of Sins*. Now ſhould I frame twenty *Excuſes* to you for the Length, the Inequality, the Inſufficiency, nay, and for the Boldneſs and Preſumption of this Diſcourſe; but I have neither Will nor Leiſure to *Trifle* at ſuch a rate: I am conſcious to my ſelf (no man more) of my great want of Abilities, requiſite for an *Undertaking* of ſuch Weight and Importance; only I was reſolv'd to let you ſee, that no *Conſiderations* whatſoever were of force (with me) to withſtand the Au-

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thority of your *Commands*. I have unbosom'd my self to you, Sir, (under the protection of a *Private Letter*) with all the Frankness and Simplicity imaginable; not doubting but you will make such use of it, as shall not redound to the *Disadvantage* of

SIR,

Your most Obedient Servant,

Some Books lately Published by James Vade, *at the Cock and Sugar-Loaf near* St. Dunstan's Church *in* Fleetstreet.

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